1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

punging his shame by challenging his accusers to "kalukek." He did this by procuring from a friend a three-dollar pig for which he paid the excessive price of a five-dollar moko, after his friend had gone through a ceremonial dunning procedure (*naluel, nobuor;* literally, follow me, call to me). Then he went to the two kinsmen of the girl with a group of supporting relatives who bore ceremonial spears and horns. They stood on the dance place and shouted challenge, demanding that the three-dollar pig be paid for with a six-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko. This was finally paid to Mangma so that ultimately he received one dollar and fifty cents as a fine for the insult leveled at him. This was not pure profit since he had to pay his allies a series of six graded payments for their support.

Refusal to meet such a challenge and pay the exorbitant price demanded for a pig so presented is a source of shame and an admission of financial defeat comparable, on a smaller scale, to that of a wealth contest. As in a wealth contest such a procedure does not result in any financial gain to the winner. In fact, the winner is apt to lose in the long run because of his obligations to supporters. Profit, more than reciprocity or potlatching, is the ideal of Alorese economy. Formerly only the breakdown of the profit system led to either of the other two systems of financial manipulation. This may explain why they were and are so rarely used and why litigation was so rapidly accepted once it was introduced. During the eighteen months in Atimelang only one case of the old kalukek system occurred. This was the outgrowth of a quarrel between two brothers who had exchanged wives. The younger brother was an unwilling partner in the exchange and gave his new wife to a friend who in turn offered him refuge against his older brother. The two friends lived together for a time but fought over the possession of the woman. There was a litigation in which the friend and the runaway brother were judged equally guilty. Instead of a fine, the chief ordered both men to be tied up for a day. The friend was so incensed at the duplicity and so shamed by the punishment that he began kalukek proceedings against the younger brother, who had meanwhile taken his wife and returned to his own village, where he made peace with his older brother.

WAR

It is quite obvious that there might be occasions where the hard dealing and chicanery openly admired in Atimelang finances reach a point that drives certain individuals to physical violence and murder. This in turn often precipitates war. Once under way, a war can drag on for years in a series of retaliations, which are also given their financial col-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

The deserted husband shot the child simply [672]
because he was from the same village as his adulterous wife and because 684
there was a death for which no payment had been made by the child's 578
family. The boy was carried back to his own village, where he died three 627
or four days later.

The brother of the murderer, who was the child's uncle by marriage, 682
was furious at this attack and killed a woman of his own family. He 578
then took her head to his wife's village of Atimelang, where it was ac- 627
cepted as payment for the dead child and for the girl murdered some years earlier by Fanpeni. Incidentally, the murder of a lineal kin to appease affinal kin is not necessarily traditional courtesy. I suspect, although I could not confirm it, that this last woman was in some way a troublesome person. In a discussion of insanity that occurs on page 157 there is a case in which a maniac was told by kin that they would take his head and sell it.

This anecdote points to another reason why violence is the source of 182
so much fear. In an area where kinship is reckoned bilaterally, so that rec- 152
ognized family affiliations are widespread, and where, in addition, group responsibility exists not only in terms of kinship but also in terms of territorial affiliation, a violent act by some one person may have incalculable repercussions on anyone distantly affiliated with the person committing the act. It is small wonder that Rilpada's autobiography contains the statement, "The older people all lectured us about fighting and said that when we fought we involved them and it was just as though we were waging war on them."

Warfare, when it was in vogue, was rarely on a large scale or of a 721
very bloody nature. It was characterized more by treachery than by 726
boldness. Bravery was reckoned in terms of success rather than risk. There is no need at this point to give a detailed description of warfare in Alor, but a brief résumé of the last series of head-hunting raids before Dutch pacification will throw some light on the role it played in the lives of Atimelangers. The series of retaliations listed below covered a period of about thirty years.

1. Manisenlaka of Kewai killed Motlaka of Lawatika. No one seemed to remember the reasons for this original murder.

2. Lonmani, a young girl of Lawatika, was kidnapped by Padakafeli of Atimelang and sold to a man in Kewai, where she was killed in revenge for death no. 1. Padakafeli was motivated by the profit involved in selling a head.

3. Lanpada of Kafakberka was killed by Kafolama of Dikimpe at the instigation of Padamai of Lawatika. Padamai was the father of victim no. 2. Kafolama was Padamai's friend and was paid for getting Lan-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

721 726 pada's head. Lanpada seems to have been completely innocent in the matter except that he belonged to a village allied to the Kewai complex. He had come to Dikimpe on a dunning trip.

4. Padakalieta of Dikimpe was wounded by the Kewai people in the course of a general skirmish in which the villages of Kewai and Atimelang fought those of Dikimpe and Lawatika.

5. Likma of Kewai was killed by Manimai of Atimelang. At this point Atimelang had changed sides without notifying Kewai. The change occurred because Padakalieta, no. 4, had kin in Atimelang and the Dikimpe people persuaded the Atimelangers that they owed Padakalieta vengeance. The death of Likma is particularly instructive. He [572] and his murderer were friends. The murderer visited Kewai while Kewai was still under the impression that the Atimelangers were allies. Likma was persuaded to return to Atimelang by his friend, who promised him protection both there and en route. As the two approached Atimelang, Manimai, who was walking behind Likma, shot him in the back and brought his head into the village.

6. Kafolama of Hatoberka, a village allied with Kewai, was killed by Manipada of Atimelang in a general skirmish resulting from death no. 5.

7. Two women of Alurkowati, a village that had been relatively neutral up to this point, were wounded by a group of Lakawati men who ambushed them as they went for water.

8. Lakamau of Alurkowati was killed by Padakari of Lakawati in a skirmish.

9. An old woman of File was killed by a group of Alurkowati and Dikimpe men who were out to ambush a Lakawati person. The men had gone to an area where Lakawati people had outlying fields and where they hoped to ambush some unsuspecting and unprotected person. They failed to find anyone from Lakawati and took the head of a File woman instead.

In an affair of this sort it is obvious that the important thing is to get a head, any head, by way of revenge. It is also obvious that the most immediate kin do not necessarily feel responsible for securing vengeance [573] in person. It is more usual to ask a friend to execute vengeance, and then the kinsman goes through the elaborate payment procedure for the head secured as "spouse" for his own murdered relative. In the [619] above encounters it will be seen that the Five Villages formed an alliance, after some slight vacillation on the part of Atimelang proper. This alliance was based on territorial and the resultant kinship propinquities. Their casualties were two persons dead and three wounded, of whom three were women. Kewai and its allied villages of Lakawati, Hato-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

berka, and Kafakberka had five dead, one of whom was a woman. Of the casualties only three occurred in open fight, the others were through ambush and treachery. It should be stressed, however, that the use of the word *treachery* in English gives the act a derogatory quality that the Alorese do not recognize.

The termination of this last war came with the death of the File woman. Dikimpe people took the initiative in paying for her murder. Since the score was five to five at this point settlement could be arranged honorably by go-betweens, and thirty dollars in mokos and gongs kept the File people from joining the war. At about this time also the Dutch were insisting upon the termination of head-hunting. However, some twenty years later the Kewai and Atimelang people were still suspicious of each other and there were very few contacts between the villages, although they were only about an hour-and-a-half's walking distance apart.

The fact that bereaved kin are not necessarily the ones who take direct vengeance does not mean that they are absolved from responsibility but, characteristically, that responsibility is financial. They must buy a head to match the one lost by a relative. Actually a head itself is not always necessary. Tokens for a person killed or wounded but not decapitated are acceptable. In such transactions there are six sellers and six buyers. The sellers (*namu*) are the persons who were present at the death and who counted coup on the head. The buyers (*banumuma*) consist of specific kin, such as a brother, and the first five Male Houses of the deceased. The prices for heads naturally vary. The maximum expenditure I have recorded amounts to approximately one hundred and twelve dollars in gongs, mokos, weapons, and pigs.

The ceremonial accompaniments of such transactions are slight and slovenly in execution, as are all ceremonial procedures in Atimelang. The sellers of a head bring it to their village in a basket filled with ashes. The basket is hung in a bamboo thicket and ignored until the payoff, which may be years later. The first two killers are under a rice taboo for six days. They may eat only corn served them in the inner woven compartment of an areca basket that is kept covered with a serving basket. The eaters take a handful and rapidly cover the container again. This is to prevent the ghost of the dead man from contaminating the food and making his slayers particularly susceptible to revenge. On the sixth day the buyers make a rice roll with a head and limbs. The chief seller shoots this food effigy and may thereafter eat rice. The sellers then give the chief buyer bananas, pigs, and chickens, which are cooked and eaten on the spot by the five other buyers. That